

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 241940Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2177

AMEMBASSY CARACAS NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN NIACT IMMEDIATE

USLO PEKING NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARAMARIBO IMMEDIATE

US MISSION USUN NY IMMEDIATE 711

S E C R E T GEORGETOWN 2193

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR MOPS CU GY AO

SUBJ: CUBAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA: GUYANA TRANSIT  
FACILITIES FOR CUBAN AIRLIFT

REF: A. STATE 300224; B. GEORGETOWN 2172; C. PORT OF SPAIN 3072;  
D. STATE 300139; E. STATE 300209; F. STATE 302053

1. SUMMARY: ACCORDING FONMIN WILLS GOG WILL FULFILL  
TERMS CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT WITH CUBA ALLOWING USE  
GEORGETOWN FOR STRICTLY COMMERCIAL IN TRANSIT FACILITIES  
ENROUTE CONAKRY ONLY. PM BURNHAM HAS APPARENTLY  
WITHHELD FROM FONMIN FINAL DECISION ON WHAT GOG WILL  
DO IN EVENT CUBA CAUGHT VIOLATING TERMS OF AGREEMENT,  
BUT WILLS BELIEVES GOG WOULD REFUSE FURTHER FLIGHTS.  
CUBANS HAVE AVOIDED MAKING FORMAL REQUEST IN ORDER AVOID  
EMBARRASSMENT GOG. CHINESE AMBASSADOR MADE FORMAL  
DEMARCHE DEC 23 OPPOSING GOG GRANT OF TRANSIT FACILITIES.

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END SUMMARY.

2. I SAW WILLS NOON DEC 24. I USED REFTELS D AND F TO GIVE WILLS UPDATED BRIEFING ON CUBAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA. I THEN READ REFTEL C TO HIM AND ADDED THAT I HAVE BEGUN TO PICK UP ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM LOCAL RUMOR MILL TO EFFECT THAT AT LEAST TWO CUBAN FLIGHTS TRANSITTED GEORGETOWN DEC 21 AND 22--BOTH ENROUTE FROM HAVANA TO GUINEA BISSAU. I REFERRED TO OUR TELECON OF DEC 22 REPORTED REFTEL B AND ASKED IF ANYTHING FURTHER HAD DEVELOPED SINCE THEN.

3. WILLS BEGAN REPLY WITH A REVIEW OF GUYANA-CUBA CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT, WHICH HE SAID ACCORDS CUBA TRANSIT RIGHTS AT TIMEHRI FOR ONWARD FLIGHTS ONLY TO CONAKRY, GUINEA, AND ONLY FOR REGULAR COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS EITHER SCHEDULED OR NON-SCHEDULED. WILLS SAID GOG FEELS OBLIGED TO COMPLY WITH THIS AGREEMENT HE SAID WHEN CUBAN AMBASSADOR MARTINEZ AND ACCOMPANYING EMB-OFF CALLED ON HIM DEC 22 THEY WERE CAREFUL TO AVOID MAKING FORMAL REQUEST FOR TRANSIT FACILITIES FOR MILITARY FLIGHTS. TALK WAS OF EXPLORATORY NATURE AND WILLS PRESUMES CUBANS WANTED TO SPARE PM BURNHAM FROM POSSIBLE EMBARRASSMENT OF A FORMAL REQUEST. WILLS SAID THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF CERTAIN TECHNICAL DIFFICULTIES IN CONNECTION USE OF GEORGETOWN, I.E. DEVIATION FROM SHORTEST ROUTE, FUEL AVAILABILITY, ETC. MOREOVER, ACCORDING TO WILLS, CUBANS ATTEMPTED TO LEAVE IMPRESSION THAT BULK OF THEIR REQUIREMENTS FOR AIRLIFT INTO ANGOLA HAVE ALREADY BEEN MET AND FROM HERE ON OUT THEIR REQUIREMENTS FOR BOTH PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT CAN BE MET BY SEALIFT WITH AZORES BEING USED AS INTERMEDIATE STOP FOR SUCH AIRLIFT REQUIREMENTS AS MAY DEVELOP. HE SAID CUBANS FOCUSED ON USE OF GEORGETOWN FOR FLIGHTS RETURNING FROM ANGOLA WITH MILITARY CASUALTIES, AND HE TOLD CUBANS GUYANA WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION IF THERE WERE TWO OR THREE MILITARY CASUALTIES IN AN OTHERWISE UNEXCEPTIONAL LOAD OF PASSANGERS. (MY BRITISH COLLEAGUE TELLS ME WILLS WAS SOMEWHAT FRANKER IN TALKING WITH HIM DEC 24, ADMITTING THAT CUBANA AIRCRAFT WHICH TRANSITTED GEORGETOWN EVENING DEC 21 CONTAINED MORE THAN FEW SUCH MILITARY CASUALTIES.)

4. I ASKED WILLS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF AIRCRAFT SHOWED UP WITH NO MORE THAN IN-FLIGHT RADIO NOTIFICATION TO TIMEHRI AIRPORT, WHICH I UNDERSTOOD TO BE THEIR ONLY ADVANCE CLEARANCE REQUIREMENT. WILLS  
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SAID THIS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN CABINET AND HE HAD SUBSEQUENTLY GIVEN PRECISE INSTRUCTIONS TO DIRECTOR CIVIL AVIATION TO EFFECT THAT ALL CUBANA FLIGHTS WERE TO BE INSPECTED ON LANDING AND IF ANY WERE DISCOVERED TO HAVE MILITARY PERSONNEL ABOARD ENROUTE FROM HAVANA TO AFRICA, THE AIRCRAFT WAS TO BE HELD ON THE GROUND AND WILLS WAS TO BE NOTIFIED. WILLS SAID DECISION WOULD THEN BE TAKEN AT HIGHEST LEVEL ON WHAT ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN. I SAID THIS STILL LEFT GUYANA'S POSITION IN DOUBT. WILLS SAID

HE FELT PM BURNHAM HAD RESERVED A DECISION FOR SAME REASON THAT CUBANS HAD AVOIDED MAKING FORMAL REQUEST, I.E. TO AVOID EMBARRASSMENT. HOWEVER, WILLS FELT EQUALLY CERTAIN THAT PM INTENDS TO PROHIBIT ANY USE OF GUYANA FACILITIES FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. THERWISE, HE SAID, THERE WOULD BE NO REASON TO REQUIRE ON-GROUND INSPECTIONOR TO INSTRUCT CIVIL AVIATION OFFICIALS TO HOLD AIRCRAFT FOUND TO BE IN VIOLATION OF CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT.

5. I ALSO ASKED ABOUT ONWARD FLIGHTS FROM CONAKRY. WILLS SAID THAT WOULD ALSO BE A BRIDGE TO BE CROSSED WHEN REACHED. I ASSUME THIS TO BEAN THAT IF GOG IS PROVIDED WITH HARD INTELLIGENCE TO EFFECT THAT CUBANA FLIGHTS HAVE CONTINUED BEYOND CONAKRY, GOG WOULD BE OBLIGED TO ASK CUBANS DESIST.

6. WILLS AGAIN RAISED IN CONNECTION WITH REFTEL E THE NON-ALIGNED THIRD WOULD CONCERN ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION. HE SAID QUOTE DON'T UNDERESTIMATE THE INTENSITY OF FEELING UNQUOTE ON THIS SUBJECT, CITING THE TENOR OF A RECENT GOG CABINET DISCUSSION. HE ENDED BY ASKING IN PLEADING TONE WHY USG COULD NOT MANAGETO FIND SOME WAY TO DISAVOW OR DISASSOCIATE ITSLEF CATEGORICALLY FROM SOUTH AFRICANS OR GET SOUTH AFRICA TO PULL OUT OF ANGOLA CONFLICT. I SAID WE WERE CONFRONTED HERE WITH THE OLD QUESTION OF THE CHICKEN AND THE EGG, AND THAT WE HAVE IN FACT SO FAR DISASSOCIATED OURSELVES FROM SOUTH AFRICA, WE WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY IN TELLING THEM TO WITHDRAW FROM SITUATION WHICH HAD CLEAR IMPLICATIONS FOR THEIR OWN EVENTUAL INTERNAL DEFENSE.

7. ON OTHER MATTERS RELATED TO ANGOLAN SITUATION, WILLS SAID PNC PARTY DELEGATION RETURNED FROM HAVANA WITH REPORT THAT ARAB COMMUNIST PARTY REPRESENTATIVES THERE WERE CONTENDING THAT ARAB OIL STRATEGY QUOTE REQUIRES RECOGNITION OF MPLA UNQUOTE. WILLS SAID  
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HE IS MYSTIFIED BY THIS APPROACH, BUT AT THE SAME TIME DISMAYED SINCE IT COULD AFFECT ATTITUDE OF AFRICAN MOSLEMS. HE SAID BURNHAM HAS SENT HIGHLY CLASSIFIED MESSAGE TO JAUNDA ASKING FOR LATTER'S PERSONAL ASSESSMENT OF EVENTUAL OUTCOME OF ANGOLA FIGHTING. AS I ENTERED WILLS INTRODUCED ME TO SINCLAIR-- SECOND MAN IN LUSAKA HIGHCOM WHO WAS JUST LEAVING.

8. MY BRITISH COLLEAGUE WHO SAW WILLS IMMEDIATELY AFTER MY VISIT, SUBSEQUENTLY EXCHANGED IMPRESSIONS WITH ME. WITH SOLE EXCEPTION INDICATED ABOVE, WE FOUND WILLS HAD GIVEN BOTH OF US THE SAME STORY.

9. WILLS ALSO TOLD ME THAT CHINESE AMBASSADOR WANG HAD SEEN HIM EARLIER DEC 24. IN WHAT WILLS DESCRIBED AS FURTHER ILLUSTRATION OF QUOTE DISGUSTING IMMORALITY OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY UN-

QUOTE HE SAID WANG ENGAGED IN EXTENSIVE FISHING EXPEDITION TO  
FIND OUT WHAT GUYANA PROPOSED TO DO ABOUT CUBAN MILITARY FLIGHTS.  
IN ANSWER TO MY QUESTION WILLS SAID WANG HAD MADE IT QUITE  
CLEAR THAT THE PRC OPPOSED GRANTING OF FACILITIES TO CUBANS,  
BUT, HE ADDED, SOLELY BECAUSE CUBA WAS SUPPORTED BY  
SOVIET UNION.  
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## Message Attributes

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